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ABSTRACT

Removal and allotment did much to disorganize American Indian groups, yet the ultimate blow came with the 1934 Reorganization Act, the master-plan for the current reservation system. Following reorganization, there were policies of termination, relocation, and self-determination, all of which contributed to the problem of marginal Indians in urban areas. Pan Indianism emerged primarily as a reaction to the depersonalization and deculturation associated with forced accommodation both on the reservation and in urban areas. The National Congress of American Indians (NCAI) was created in 1944, but its effectiveness has been hampered by attempts to work with the existing system. The National Indian Youth Council (NIYC) emerged in the 1960's as a reaction to the more conservative NCAI. The identity established by Pan Indianism is especially important for urban Indians, as they are twice removed from traditional life. The objectives of Pan Indianism for urban Indians can be achieved through special education programs involving: development of summer preparatory programs for Indian students and adults anticipating furthering their education; development of academic year tutorial programs for full time Indian students; development of special Indian adult extension programs; development of on-going Indian cultural workshops; establishment of student/tutor companionship programs; and utilization of Native American advisory groups. (JC)

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EDUCATIONAL DILEMMA FACING THE URBAN INDIAN

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EDUCATIONAL DILEMMA FACING THE URBAN INDIAN

Why have our public schools failed Native Americans and what can be done to rectify this situation? This paper looks at both the cause and nature of this phenomenon. First a distinction must be made between reservation schools and those schools serving the urban Indian population. Reservation schools are mostly special facilities designed to service exclusively Native American groups. Yet they must be considered whenever Native American education is discussed, even urban Indian education, because of the tremendous influence the reservation system exerts on all American Indians. Urban Indians, on the other hand, usually attend public schools along with the bulk of their non-Indian urban counterparts. A cursory look at these two Indian situations would at first glance give the impression that they are worlds apart but on closer glance it becomes obvious that they share a common philosophical foundation.

The Process of Cultural Genocide:

The responsibility for most of the social, health and educational problems plaguing Native Americans today have their roots in the reservation system and its policy of federal accommodation. Historically Native Americans have proven their tremendous capacity to adapt to new environmental factors as long as they were allowed to retain the basic elements of their traditional folk heritage. Aboriginal cultures changed with the onslaught of white contact adapting to the horse, modern tools, trade items, new foods, firearms and the like. They even adapted to the encroachment of the whiteman with his insatisble thirst for land and resources even when this resulted in removing Native American groups off of their best land, destroying their traditional game and restricting their mobility. In spite of

all these adversaries, the American Indian managed to survive, not only in numbers but, most importantly, in spirit. It was this spirit which federal accommodation stifled (Deloria, 1969).

A number of federal programs emerged since white contact many emphasing physical genocide or the total destruction of certain Indian groups. All these programs stressed cultural genocide or the destruction of the Indian way-of-life. A century of Indian slavery deci ated the ranks of eastern Indians during the colonial era wiping out entire tribes and bands (Lauber, 1970). This was followed by "Forced Removal" where Native Americans were ordered from their traditional homeland. One of the most spectacular migrations was that of the Southeastern Indians commonly known as the "Five Civilized Tribes." Here tens of thousands of American Indians were evicted from their homes and ordered to "Indian Territory" (Oklahoma). Forced Removal was the first official United States Indian policy establishing a harsh precedent of discriminatory treatment.

Removal was first articulated early in our country's infancy with the 1802 Georgia Compact and the 1803 Louisiana Purchase. Yet it was not until a quarter century later, with the Jackson presidency, that these harsh policies were forged and implemented. Georgia wanted the Indians out of their state therefore traded its western territory (now Alabama and Mississippi) with the federal government in return for an assurance that they would rid the state of their Indian population. The Louisiana Purchase then provided a convient dump ing ground for these displaced southeastern Indians. However, during the quarter century between the Georgia Compact and Louisiana Purchase and Jackson's ascention to the Presidency, the

Five Civilized Tribes (Cherokee, Choctaw, Creek, Chickasaw and Seminole), those not destroyed by slavery during the colonial era, adopted many attributed of their white neighbors and could hardly be considered "primitive." By 1835 the works of Presidents Jefferson and Jackson was cemented with the infamous "Removal Treaty" forcing these tribes west of the Mississippi River into "Indian Territory," a special part of the Louisiana Purchase set aside for displaced Indians (Collier, 1973).

As white migration pushed west more and more tribes were forced off of their anchestory lands and sent to "Indian Territory." Many of these were now "Plains Indians." Moreover the resumption of Indian wars followed the Civil War again reinstating the colonial policy of physical genocide.

Allotment was the next significant federal policy designed at cultural genocide. Once removed to "Indian Territory" with the promise of a perpetual home-land, this promise proved to be short-lived when, following the Civil War, the western half of this special territory was opened up to white settlers. This now became known as "Oklahoma Territory." While small portions of this western section was still used for Cheyenne, Arapaho, Comanche and Kiowa resettlement, the vast majority of the territory was now being settled by whites. Subsequently some seventy years following the initial "Removal Treaty" (1835), the Curtis Act (1898) initiated the destruction of what remained of "Indian Territory" with the new federal policy of "Forced Allotment." And like Removal, Allotment had affected a large proportion of our Nation's Indian population and was not restricted merely to what later became Oklahoma.

Allotment was designed to destroy tribal ways notably the traditional cultural heritage of these people. Tribal laws, folkways and customs were now outlawed as well as the concept of tribalism itself. Tribal lands were divided-up among whites and Indians alloting 160 acre tracts for settlers. Each enrolled, that is those Indians fortunate enough to be listed on a federal register, Indian family was allowed a 160 acre tract while single adults were alloted 80 acres and children were given 40 acres. However Indian participation was severely restricted through such tactics as the closing of official rolls to real Indians while many whites bribed federal officials managing to get their names on the allotment rolls. These non-Indians appearing on federal Tribal rolls became known as "Five-Dollar Indians" or "White Indians." Most Indian land owners were then separated from their land holdings through corrupt local judges who possessed the authority to interpret "verbal" and other alleged agreements made between whites and Indians over the sale of their (Indian) allotment. Alcohol was widely used to separate an Indian from his allotment often for a price which was tantamount to robbery. But with little official recourse the Indian could do nothing about it. They could not petition or appeal their cases since they were not United States citizens. Thus between 1898 - 1934 the federal Allotment policy was instrumental in reducing "Indian Territory" from the original promised 140 million acres to a minuscule 298,920 acre parcel, clearly making it a successful program- for whites.

Removal and Allotment did much to disorganize American Indian groups yet the ultimate blow came a century following Removal with the 1934 Wheeler-Howard Reorganization Act. Although the Reservation system existed decades prior to this act, Reorganization was the master-plan for the current Reservation system with its manifest policy of federal paternalism and adolescent accommodation. It consolidated a number of tested policies such as boarding schools, internment, forced accommodation and colonial administration, incorporating these into a larger "culture of poverty." Remarkably, certain Indian groups thrived inspite of these conditions. Perhaps forced migration from their traditional homeland, a history of broken treaties, harsh attempts at destroying native language and culture proved to be counterproductive initiating a strong will among Native Americans to preserve their respective cultures even in the face of adversary. This is a classic example of Simmel and Coser's concept of majority/minority explotiation and confrontation where they contend that outgroup hostility increases ingroup cohesion and the more intense the hostility, the greater the cohesion. To illustrate, the Navajo population grew by amazing proportions under the reservation system becoming the Nation's single largest tribe today with some 130,000 members accounting for about 15 percent of the entire Native American population (Dent, 1974).

Nonetheless the reservation system contributed to the creation on numerous social problems among Native Americans, the most significant being the creation of "marginal Indians." Here alcohol comes to symbolize the magnitude of this problem. While the General Indian Intercourse Act of 1832 prohibited the sale of alcohol to Native

Americans, this tells only part of the story. By the time of repeal in 1953 most American Indians were denied the opportunity to culturally adapt to this phenomenon. This is yet another example of how forced accommodation through federal paternalism generated cultural and psychological marginality for many Native Americans (French, 1975a).

Reorganization allowed for the systematic federal colonizlization of Native Americans placing them under strict accommodative regulation forcing them into the lowest social class in America, a position which places them into a separate "third-class" status. Federal paternalism and its policy of adolescent accommodation, or conditional dependency, created a self-fulfilling prophecy thereby placing these Indian wards into an ambigious social-cultural environment where they are seldom allowed to become autonomous individuals or responsible adults. Clearly the most significant product of federal paternalism is Indian marginality which in turn is the single most critical contributing factor regarding Indian social and health problems. Consequently, while captures of federal reservations, Indian wards are constantly reminded of the inferiority of being Indian while at the same time being denied the opportunity to become fulfledged members of the larger society. Unlike most other groups, assimilation was not made available to Native Americans (French, 1975b).

Urban Indian Situation:

Three federal policies followed Reorganization, each contributing greatly to the urban Indian situation: Termination, Relocation and Self-Determination. Termination emerged in the early 1950s as an

attempt to rid the federal government of its Indian wards. The classic example involved Wisconsin's Menominee Indians who were unfortunate enough to be one of the target groups used to test the effectiveness of this policy. During this period (1961-1973) they lived in dire poverty nearly destroying their cultural heritage. In 1954 Congress passed the Termination Act designed to eliminate the reservation system replacing it with a business corporate model whereby all enrolled members were to become equal share-owners in the collective tribal holdings. The problem with Termination was that it is rooted in the Protestant Ethic value system and not based on the Native American Harmony Ethic. It was absurd to assume that there would be a smooth transition from the chaotic reservation system to one based on the white business model. Even if the American Indian was enculturated along lines similar to those of the dominant white society, the Termination model was a near-failure to begin with since it was designed to put Native Americans at a considerable disadvantage in the highly competitive corporate world. Moreover the federal government insisted on severing economic ties with their ill-prepared wards therefore not providing the numerous financial advantages given to most white-run corporations. This fact alone has raised serious questions concerning the ulterior motives of Termination. Many have concluded that perhaps it was yet another attempt at expediting Indian cultural genocide. Nonetheless the failure of Termination resulted in many Native Americans leaving the impoverished reservations usually for the urban Indian Ghetto (Hagen, 1962).

Termination was followed by Relocation, a plan specifically designed to rid the reservation of the younger Indians hence leaving

only the older generations who once deceased would bring an end to our Nation's "Indian problem." This program encouraged Native Americans, especially young adults, to leave the reservation and tribal environment for that of urban settings where educational and job prospects were supposedly better. Relocation first surfaced in the mid-1950s as the Indian Vocational Training Act (1956) and continues today under the Direct Employment and Adult Vocational Training Program. Unfortunately this program was no more successful than any of the others. Instead, this program. perhaps more than any other, is most repsonsible for our large urban Indian ghettoes, the vast majority which are located in the specially designated "Relocation Centers." Here Native Americans find that once again a federally sponsored Indian program has led to false hopes merely replacing rural poverty with that of urban poverty and despair (Hertzberg, 1973).

Then in 1975 Congress passed Public Law 638, better known as Indian Self-Determination. On the surface this program seems designed to upgrade Native American programs placing them into the larger competitive United States pool whereby towns, counties, regions and states vie for federal subsidies through yearly funded grants. Savy tribal leaders, however, fear that this is actually an attempt to eliminate federal support for some Indian programs. They note that Native American culture differs from that of the larger society which subscribes to the Protestant Ethic and not to the Indian Harmony Ethic. Understandably white-run programs, those with the strongest political clout, will most certainly win over Indian program requests.

Paradoxically the federal government seems to contradict itself regarding Self-Determination. Tribal Chairman McDonald of the Navajo readily accepted the terms of Self-Determination asking for the dismantel of the federal reservation system serving his 130 thousand member tribe. The Department of Interior refused the Navajo request meekly stating that it would place a large number of non-Indian Agency employees out of work. The Navajo, and many other Native Americans, suggest that this is only part of the reason, the most significant being that the federal governmant has no intention of relinquishing its colonial authority over its Indian wards.

Consequently a basic failure of all these government programs is that they do not take into account important cultural factors. Native Americans, like all other groups, are enculturated within a specific cultural environment and any viable attempt at assimilation must incorporate the most viable of these cultural factors. Abrupt and drastic changes are not the solution to the contemporary accommodative Indian siutation. Assimilation can not be forced and any attempt to do so will prove counterproductive to the desired results. Clearly these government programs give one the impression that little though has been given to Indian matters. There seems little excuse for policies such as Termination and Relocation in this day and age especially since other sophisticated resocialization programs have been initiated and successfully implemented by the United States, most notably those designed for the defeated Axis nations following the Second World War. Yet, for the American Indian it is still the same old story of deceit and failure. Ostensibly assimilation for the Indian seems to be tantamount to elimination and not associated

with their acceptance into the mainstream of American society (Deloria, 1973).

Pan Indianism and Urban Indian Survival:

Contemporary Pan Indianism emerged primarily as a reaction to the depersonalization and deculturation associated with forced accommodation both on the reservation and in the urban Indian ghettoes. It was an attempt to create a positive cultural base for these otherwise marginal Indians.

Historically the Pan Indian movement first appeared in the east with Handsome Lake's "good message" during the 1800s. The "good message" was a blend of traditional Seneca religious prescriptions and those of the Quakers, an influential group among these people at this time. Apparently this was the first attempt toward an organized, universial Indian religion. Handsome Lake preached his message among the Iroquois for sixteen years and his influence is still evident among the Six National Iroquois Reservation in Canada (Wax, 1973).

The western Ghost Dance movement of the late 1800s was yet another attempt toward a universial Indian belief system. A common element of the Ghost Dance was the appearance of a prophet with a message concerining the disappearance of the white man and the return of the Indian dead and disappearing wildlife, hence a return to the "old ways." This seemingly radical theology alarmed the whites as some felt the Ghost Dance stimulated Indian militancy, notably the 1872 Modoc and 1877 Nez Perce wars. Later the Ghost Dance instilled a fire within the young Indians sufficient to overcome the privation and drudgery of reservation life. This proved to be

the needed catalysis for the expression of the Sioux's mass alienation. The Ghost Dance resulted in the Wounded Knee massacre in December, 1890. Brown (1970) holds that the Ghost Dance restrained Big Foot and the Oglala Sioux from going to war over the assassination of Sitting Bull, but nonetheless white reaction to and fear of the Ghost Dance influence on the Plains Indians resulted in a militant reaction to it. Actually the Sioux were merely seeking refuge in one of the Ghost Dance camps awaiting better times when they were halted by the Seventh Regiment at Wounded Knee Creek. In the aftermath Big Foot and more than half his people (350) were dead while most of the others were seriously wounded. This incident contributed considerably to the decline of the Ghost Dance since it disproved the assumption that Indians would now be protected from the white man's bullets.

Other cultural movements gained prominence such as the Native American Church, commonly assoicated with the peyote cult. This belief again combines Christian and traditional rituals much like the "good message" did. Many elements of the Protestant Ethic are incorporated into this movement including self-reliance, brotherhood and abstinence from alcohol. Yet white protestantism is reluctant to accept or recognize the Native American Church due ot its use of peyote, a hallucinogen drug derived from certain cactus plants. This is unfortunate since the basic objective of the Native American Church seems to be to help the Indian bridge the gap existing between Indian traditionalism and the demands of the larger white society.

While these Indian religious movements contributed to contemporary Pan Indianism none seem sufficient in themselves to explain the

current Pan Indian phenomenon. It took an incident like the Second World War to initiate a movement that truly transcended the various tribal and geographic barriers long providing obstacles to any viable universal Indian pan-cultural model. These young Indian servicemen (some 25,000) returned, some national heroes, with a different outlook on life and set about educating others on the reservation. This led to the creation of the National Congress of American Indians (NCAI) in 1944. Although other white sponsored Indian organizations preceded the NCAI this was the first viable Native Amercian sponsored program. A major shortcoming of this organization is its attempt to work with the existing system instead of altering it to meet special Indian needs. The result is that little is accomplished mainly because intertribal members can seldom agree on any nationwide program beneficial to all Native Americans.

A more radical youth oriented Indian group emerged in the 1960s (1961) primarily as a reaction to the ineffectiveness of the NCAI. The National Indian Youth Council (NIYC) served as the parent organization for the more radical oriented American Indian Movement (AIM) much like the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) fostered the radical "Weathermen." NIYC not only was critical of the more conservative NCAI organization, but challenged its authority to speak for all Native Americans as well. These two American Indian factions clearly represent what has always seemed to be evident among Indian groups since the advent of white/Indian contact - the existence of a inner-division between conservative and radical Native Americans. The former sought to maintain the status quo

while the latter supported drastic change. What has changed overtime is the alliance of these two groups. In the past the conservatives represented the traditional Indian ways while the radicals wanted to adapt to the white man's world. Today the opposite is true. The radicals(NIYC) support "Indianism" while the conservatives (NCAI) want to work within the larger white system. Surprisingly the radical NIYC has been quite successful in drawing attention to the current Indian dilemma. They have actively lobbied against Termination, Indian boarding schools and other questionable federal policies. Today, a past Executive Secretary, Vine Deloria, Jr., has been quite successful in bringing the philosophy of this group to the public attention through his numerous books. The NIYC has also overcome intertribal barriers, a seemingly unsurmountable problem for the NCAI. But one must keep in mind that the NIYC movement coincided with other radical movements of the early 1960s notably those involving blacks, students, womens liberation and anti-war protestors. Although this Indian movement preceded most of these others they nonetheless benefitted from the media coverage given all these movements collectively called the "counterculture." The radical Indian movement has produced mixed results overall. On the one hand it gained tremendous support for the development of a universal Indian cultural image (Pan Indianism) and lent considerable support to the cultural pluralistic approach supportive of Indian self-reliance. The violence generated by the more radical arm, AIM, speaks for itself and widened the gap between many tribal members caught on either side of these altercations.

Perhaps the most significant aspect of Pan Indianism is that

it provides our Nation's 800,000 Native Americans with a common ethnic identity and language. Moreover this visible identity and common tongue, English, is easily recognized by the majority of non-Indian members of society. The acceptability of Pan Indianism among members of the larger society is evident in the recent popularity in Indian jewelry and crafts. Pan Indianism then not only links the nearly 500 tribes and bands in North America but provides them with an identity that is universally recognized by non-Indians as well. This is especially important for urban Indians who often are denied any close link to their traditional cultural heritage, many who do not even know their tribal lineage and roots. For these urban Indians, the most marginal Native Americans, Pan Indianism provides an invaluable psycho-cultural function, that of providing them with an identity (French, 1977a).

Developing a Viable Urban Indian Program:

Given the above discussion it is easy to conclude that "Indian marginality" is a serious socially created phenomenon affecting a large proportion of both reservation and urban Indian populations. Controlling on all other factors, the urban Indian often suffers a more severe form of marginality being alienated from both the larger white society and their traditional Indian heritage. At lease the marginal reservation Indian has access to some knowledge of his tribal heritage even if he can never join the "traditionalists."

The urban marginal Indian is actually twice removed from the traditionalists, often knowing little about his heritage other than his tribal affiliation and some marginals even do not know their tribal affiliation being forced to accept general or popular Indian titles such as Lumbee, Cherokee, Iroquois, Algonkin or Sioux.

Hence the treatest Indian challenge facing American is that involving urban Indians.

1. The Role of Urban Indian Centers

Any viable urban Indian program must be an educational one involving both Native Americans and non-Indians alike. The single most significant factor here must be a realistic Indian-run urban Indian center. A successful Indian center has the delicate task of helping the urban Indian bridge the gap between his traditional tribal heritage and the functional urban society. With the help of a nearby urban university and community services the Indian Center should be responsible for corrdinating basic health, educational, occupational and welfare service for the urban Indian population. And for these services to be functional they must appertain to the larger objective of preparing the Indian to become a "responsible" citizen.

The urban Indian center should be a partner in all endeavors relevant to Native American programs providing as many of these programs within an Indian environment, one most likely to exist at the Indian Center and not in other down town institutional and administrative situations. The delicate task of the Indian Center is to provide the urban Indian with an acceptable identity so that he or she can then come to accept their "Indianism" without suffering tremendous guilt or shame. Many programs in the past failed because they attempted to make the Indian white. These programs fail even when this "white-wash" attempt is administered by Indian staffs.

A more realistic approach is to aid the "Marginal Indian" in his or her pursuit of a viable Indian identity and then, and only then, can other reintegration attempts become feasible. Here the

single most critical obstacle to any viable urban Indian Center program is that of ethnocentrism, or the bias of cultural superiority. Unfortunately many urban Indian Centers are closely monitored by a number of social, political, religious and educational agencies at the local, state and federal level often imposing their views and biases on the Center and its programs.

Forcing an American Indian into the supposedly "superior" white mold is a system tantamount to the colonial caste system whereby the tainted minority members are constantly reminded of their "inferiority" vis-a-vis the more acceptable majority standards. When applied to Native Americans, I call this process the "Vine Deloria Jr. Syndrome." It reflects the attempt to "de-Indianise" Native Americans making them into pseudo-whites. The fact remains that most Indians know that they are not white and will never be white. Moreover the vast majority do not want to be white even if this was a feasible alternative. Attempting to make an Indian learn white ways at the expense of his "Indianism" leads to increased inner turmoil which is often internalized and concealed through alcohol, tension and the like. In rare occurances it errupts in aggressive productivity like that which happened with Vine Deloria Jr and Adolph Dial. But for most the end result is massive self-aggression (alcoholism, mental and physical health problems and suicide) or other-aggression (assault and homicide). There is little doubt that the most successful Native Americans are those who are proud to be Indian. Once this has been established their success in either the Indian or white world is considerable and one has only to look at the long list of distinguished Indian scholars, political leaders, businessmen, warriors and athletes to see this point.

Clearly, then, the most significant aspect of any viable urban Indian Center is its working philosophy, one which is designed to encourage Native Americans to be proud of their heritage. This is not an easy task mainly due to the fact that many urban Indians suffer a greater degree of marginality than do their reservation counterparts. Many do not know their heritage, language, lineage or customs. Nonetheless this gap can be bridged through the use of Pan Indianism. By providing the marginal urban Indian with some rudimentary knowledge of his "Indianism" he can then start to identify with his group and as time goes on and his contact with and knowledge of particular Indian cultures increases he may even adopt a tribe as his own. This is not a new approach since Native American groups have a long history of both inter- and intra-tribal adoption whereby the new Indian is made to feel he or she is a fullfledged member of the group. For the urban Indian, once his "Indianism" is reassured, he can then learn the skills and techniques needed to survive in the larger society while at the same time preserving the seeds of the Native American heritage.

2. <u>The Role of the Urban University</u>

Many scholars have addressed themselves to the restrictive nature of our middleclass educational sytem and how this may impede non-middleclass students especially those who are also non-white. Thomas (1971) emphasized the futility of our educational system when applied to cultural out-groups like American Indians. He felt that Indian subcultures, like the Oklahmoa Cherokees, are "out of it" in terms of benefitting from our educational process.

Its most crucial mandate is to socialize, that is to prepare students in such a fashion that they will be able to function within the larger society.

The challenge of our educational system is to strengthen and preserve the positive attributes of the marginal subcultures utilizing the cultural milieu as a vehicle for preparing these students to better cope in the larger, multi-cultured environment. Reinstating their cultural pride without adequately preparing them for the challenges of the larger society is a futile effort. These programs usually restrict access to the minority students traditional culture while only partially availing them access to the values and objectives of the larger society. Even among those few who have been successfully "assimilated" into the larger society many come to resent this success and begin searching for their lost heritage.

Any viable multi-cultural educational model must place considerable weight on the academic end of this relationship requiring the teachers to know about the cultures they are talking about. Here the most important factor to overcome is that of ethnocentrism or our own cultural bias. Teachers must be sensitive to their students needs and must be able to empathize with them as well. Burger (1968) emphasized the role of the teacher as a bi-cultural agent stating that this is an important first step in bridging the cultural-gap.

Rosenthal and Jacobson (1968) stressed the importance of "teachers interest." They found that a direct relationship exists tetween teacher expectation and student achievement concluding

that it is not enough to merely have Indian, black or Hispanic teachers teaching minority students, these teachers must be able to understand the group's culture and to care for these students. Race and sex of the teacher apparently plays a relatively minor role in regards to actual academic productivity. What really counts is having concerned competent teachers who are able to empathize with these students.

The objective of these programs must be to not only provide better educational opportunity for urban Indians but also to better educate the general public about the Indian's plight as well. Basic to this larger educational endeavor is the challenge of distinquishing between existential (Native American Harmony Ethic) and phenomenological (Protestant Ethic of the larger society) cultures and to do this we need to emphasize the importance of the cultural relativistic perspective. In other words, educators must beware of culturally biased value-laden assumptions when viewing another person's cultural background. The Indian's point of view is conspiciously absent from our educational material making this an even harder task for the educator, yet it is a challenge that must be met if we are to end this disservice that we have perpetuated for over two hundred years (Costo, 1970).

We offer a model for special Indian educational programs, one designed to aid urban universities which have substantial Indian student populations or the promise of such (French, 1977b). This program should be coordinated through the local Indian Center first providing the appropriate training for their staff if they are lacking in certain expertise. First considered are the broader educational objectives of a urban Indian population.

Urban Indian Educational Objectives:

1. To promote a sense of unity among Native American Indian students attending college.

2. To encourage other Native Americans, both adults and high school students, to go on to college.

3. To establish a tutorial and counseling program designed to help the Indian student adapt to this new and often challenging environment. And for this tutorial and counseling program to be effective the faculty tutors and counselors must first familiarize themselves with the Indian culture and the nature of these contravening ethos.

4. To establish an Indian studies minor or concentration for Native American students so that they can preserve and continue their Indian heritage and also transmit this information to the larger society as well.

5. To actively promote the Native American culture and Pan Indianism through the on-going tripartite liasion which exists between the urban university, the Indian Center and community representatives.

6. To gain recognition for Native American academic accomplishments and to disseminate this information to the larger non-Indian community as well.

These objectives can then be implemented through special programs.

Urban Indian Educational Programs:

1. DEVELOPMENT OF SUMMER PREPARATORY PROGRAMS FOR NATIVE AMERICAN STUDENTS AND ADULTS ANTICIPATING FURTHERING THEIR EDUCATION.

2. DEVELOPMENT OF ACADEMIC YEAR TUTORIAL PROGRAMS FOR FULL TIME INDIAN STUDENTS.

3. DEVELOPMENT OF SPECIAL INDIAN ADULT EXTENSION PROGRAMS.

4. DEVELOPMENT OF ON-GOING NATIVE AMERICAN CULTURAL WORKSHOPS.

5. ESTABLISHMENT OF STUDENT TUTOR/COMPANIONSHIP PROGRAMS.

6. UTILIZATION OF NATIVE AMERICAN ADVISORY GROUPS.

In a nutshell these programs would provide a positive endorsement for the Native American cultural heritage replacing the condescending epistemological approach now used. The idea is to promote a strong sense of "Indianism" among Native American students while at the same time exposing non-Indian students to this group's positive and unique cultural attributes. All too often Native American culture is glorified in the past tense. We must get away from the narrow vulgar anthropological and historical focus on the "dead Indian" culture and place things in their proper perspective.

The burden of responsibility for these changes lies not so much with Native American students as it does with the educators. High college attrition among Native Americans has long been blamed on their inability to adapt and adjust to the highly competitive university environment, one based on the Protestant Ethic. Consequently little attention has been paid to the wide cultural-gap existing between the Indian's more traditional phenomenological cultural perspective and that which exists in the larger white society. Hence it is usually felt that Indian students fail because they are inferior. What educators and school administrators often do not realize is that if they were suddenly thrown into a completely different environment, especially one comprised of an alien ethos, they would suffer from severe cultural shock as well. And since schools have a special mandate to educate and socialize, one would think that they, and not the minority student, would be responsible for providing insight as how to bridge the cultural gap.

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